

STRUCTURAL PATTERNS AND FUNCTIONS OF REDUPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SLOVAK ROMANI*

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In Slovak Romani reduplication applies to nouns, adverbs, numerals, particles, interrogative adverbial pronouns, verbs and adjectives. The most prevalent type is total reduplication: either pure total reduplication which involves repetition of constituents without additional elements, or superadded total reduplication where the reduplicative construction is extended by additional elements (particles, conjunctions, prepositions, inflections and prefixes). Partial reduplication is rare. Reduplicative constructions have mainly an intensification and distributive function. Verbal reduplicatives express an ongoing, continuous action which requires some effort. Reduplicative constructions can also serve to express multiplication (a large quantity of), attenuation and indefiniteness. In some cases they have a derivative function; sometimes reduplicative constructions are lexicalized.

Keywords: Slovak Romani, structural patterns of reduplicative constructions, functions of reduplicative constructions, reduplication of words, reduplication of word roots, reduplication of modifying and derivational morphemes

* This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under the contract No. APVV-0689-12 and by the VEGA agency under the project No. 1/0845/15.

I. Introduction

The Indian origin of Romani is still reflected in its lexis and grammar. However, since the language has existed outside the territory of India for a long time and has been out of touch with other Indian languages, it has lost many of the features typical of languages in India. These include, besides others, a rich occurrence of reduplications, pair constructions and echo words in both Indo-European and Dravidian languages. In Indian languages different types and subtypes of reduplication (bearing different names or being differently classified, for example, as total, partial, lexical, morphological, phonetic, semantic) apply to nearly all parts of speech, although not to an equal extent, and have many different functions which in the main correspond with functions of reduplications in many other languages of the world.¹ Reduplications, in general, express plurality, distributiveness, prolativity, a greater or lesser degree or extent of a quality, iterativeness, or the continuity of an action. Reduplication often results in a change in word class (most often in adverbialization).

In Romani reduplication is not such a common phenomenon and in general, it does not play there such a significant role as in some other languages; this might be the reason why there is no mention of it in Yaron Matras's linguistic introduction to Romani.² As a result, Thomas Stolz, Cornelie Stroh and Anie Urdze,³ the authors of an extensive publication on total reduplication, infer that total reduplication does not seem to exist in Romani. On the other hand, they appear to contradict this to a certain extent, or they consider the non-existence of total reduplication in Romani surprising "given the Indic origin of Romani which is so clearly visible from the structural properties of the grammatical system (of conservative varieties),"⁴ as well as given "the age-long history of migration through territories in which earlier forms of Romani cohabitated practically exclusively with languages which today can be identified as TR-languages".⁵ Eventually, they have found an example of TR in Boretzky, who describes the Romani dialect Bugurdži: *Vreme palo vreme po-haro po-hari na*

¹ A detailed analysis of reduplications in Tamil has been done by Pavel Hons in his studies "Types of Semantic Reduplication in Tamil" (2007) and "A Phonetic Reduplication in Tamil in the Context of Expressivity" (2008). Reduplications in Hindi are the subject of Odolén Smékal's study "Classification of Hindi Onomatopoeic Verbal Bases" (1971). Reduplication of verbal forms in Bengali was in detail described by Anna Rácová in her study "Reduplication of Verbal Forms in Bengali" (2013). These papers also include relevant references to the works of other authors examining reduplication in the mentioned Indian languages.

² MATRAS, Y. Romani: A Linguistic Introduction, 2002.

³ STOLZ, T., STROH, C., URDZE, A. Total Reduplication, The Areal Linguistics of a Potential Universal, pp. 531 – 532.

⁴ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., p. 531.

⁵ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., p. 532.

kerla buci ‘From time to time, he **even** works **a bit less.**⁶ However, they conclude that “it is unsurprising that among the little evidence there is of anything that looks remotely like TR in varieties of Romani is directly or indirectly copied from individual languages of South East Europe”.⁷ In the example from Bugurdži Romani the highlighted elements have a Slavic origin. In addition, the authors point out that the example “violates the constraints against TR of formally marked comparatives,”⁸ as they describe them in the cited work.^{9,10}

These reflections, as well as the fact that as far as we know, there is no study on reduplication in Romani, made us do research into reduplication in Slovak Romani. As resources for analysis, we have used dictionaries and textbooks of Romani,¹¹ published texts in Romani, Romani in media (radio, television) and a native speaker’s linguistic awareness.

Our analysis of these texts has revealed that Slovak Romani uses total (full, complete) reduplication. Reduplication applies to whole words, word roots, or modifying and derivational morphemes. As far as partial reduplication is concerned, in which the phonologically characterized sub-part of the word is reduplicated, we have found the only example in the reduplication of the final syllable in the word *čuno/čino* ‘little, a little; a moment, shortly’, which can be reduplicated before the diminutive morpheme *-ro-*: *čino-no-ro* ‘a bit, a mite; a minute, very shortly’ and has an intensification function.

The origin of reduplicative constructions

Some reduplicative constructions in Slovak Romani are reminiscent of reduplicative constructions in Indian languages; however, many reflect Romani’s long-lasting contact with Slovak. The reduplicative constructions

⁶ BORETZKY, N. Bugurdži: deskriptiver und historischer Abriß eines Romani-Dialekts, p. 190.

⁷ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., p. 532.

⁸ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., p. 532.

⁹ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., pp. 449 – 450.

¹⁰ Such an example can also be found in Slovak Romani. It is copied directly from Slovak: Romani *fur buteder u buteder* – Slovak ‘stále (furt in dialect) viac a viac’ – English ‘increasingly, more and more’: ...*u oda čak vaš’oda, kaj kamenas fur buteder, u buteder...* ‘and it is only because they want more and more’. FOČÁR, Martin, *Romane nevipena*, October 2014, special issue 1, Vol. 1/2014, p. 11. The comparative form of the indefinite numeral *but* ‘much/many’ expresses growth, intensification.

¹¹ Examples of reduplication (reduplicative constructions) given in textbooks are not referred to as instances of reduplication, but they are viewed in the context of the use of individual cases as phrasemes or set phrases which must be remembered (for example, ŠEBKOVÁ, Hana in her *Romaňi čhib* 1999, dealing with the locative case on p. 192, the ablative on p. 217 and similar).

whose form the Romani people probably brought from India could include reduplications with the additional element *na*, which is inserted between the reduplicand and the reduplicant¹² in the reduplication of whole words (interrogative adverbial pronouns in Romani and indefinite pronouns in Bengali and Hindi). Romani reduplicative construction has the same formal structure as corresponding reduplicative constructions in Indic languages: for example, *kana na kana* in Romani, *kokhan nā kokhan* in Bengali, or *kabhī na kabhī* in Hindi. In Slovak Romani, however, the singleton – the interrogative adverbial pronoun *kana* ‘when’ – crosses over to the indefinite pronoun ‘sometime’. In Indic languages (Hindi and Bengali) reduplication applies to the indefinite pronoun, and as a result of the formal structure, by inserting the particle *na*, the reduplication of the indefinite pronoun ‘sometime’ acquires the shade of meaning ‘but definitely one day’. Hübschmannová et al. attribute this nuance to the pure reduplication without the additional element *kana kana*.¹³

In Slovak Romani there are also reduplicative constructions which can be found, for example, in Dravidian Tamil but are not used in Indo-European Bengali or Hindi. They are examples of TR in which one of the constituents (either the domain or the reduplicant) takes the inflectional suffix (*bokh bokhatar* ‘of great hunger/starvation’ and *šuk šukate* ‘great beauty’ in Romani; *teruvukkut teru* ‘from street to street’ in Tamil).

Other reduplicative constructions display the influence of Romani’s long-lasting contact with Slovak – they are loan translations from Slovak (e.g. *berš so berš* < Slovak ‘rok čo rok’, English ‘year after year’; *nistostar nič* < Slovak ‘z ničoho nič’, English ‘unexpectedly, suddenly’; *šero pre šereste* < Slovak ‘hlava na hlave’, English ‘[the room was] jam-packed’).

A reduplicative construction which is a result of the reduplication of phonologically and semantically identical components (entire words, roots, or modifying or derivational morphemes) is one complex unit formally and semantically different from its components.¹⁴ A reduplicative construction acquires its own grammatical function different from the meanings of its individual components. However, the denotative meaning of the reduplicative

¹² In reference to the components of reduplication we use, at least partly, Melčuk’s terminology introduced by Thomas Stolz at a conference in Brussels in 2012 in his paper “In the No-Man’s Land between Lexicon, Morphology, and Syntax: Total Reduplication”: the portion of a meaning-bearing unit within which reduplication applies is named domain and the portion of a domain which is reduplicated is called reduplicand. However, the reduplication or copy of the reduplicand is named reduplicant, and not image in our paper. The result of the reduplication process is a reduplicative construction.

¹³ HÜBSCHMANNOVÁ, M. et al. Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník [Romani-Czech and Czech-Romani Pocket Dictionary], 1991.

¹⁴ STOLZ, T. et al., op.cit., pp. 30 – 31, understand reduplicative constructions as independent language signs.

construction in most cases does not differ from the denotative meaning of the reduplication domain (an exception is the lexicalization of the reduplicative construction, for example, *chol'i* ‘anger, spite’ – *chol'i chol'ake* ‘on purpose, out of spite’).

Orthography

The orthography of components of reduplicative constructions is not fixed; of course, with the exception of the reduplication of the modifying morpheme which occurs inside the word (*sikricica*, *sivkerkerel*), and the derivational morpheme at the end of the word (*anglala*). In the case of reduplication of entire words and word roots, the components of reduplicative constructions are usually recorded with a blank between them.¹⁵ In some texts phonologically identical constituents are written with a hyphen (*má-má* ‘shortly/soon/almost’; *imar-imar* ‘shortly/soon/almost’). In Anna Koptová and Martina Koptová's dictionary,¹⁶ several of such reduplicatives with different orthography are given as separate lexical entries with a (slightly) different lexical meaning, for example: *ajci-ajci* ‘with difficulty’ as opposed to *ajci ajci* ‘finally, eventually, after all, in short’. Sometimes the constituents of reduplicative constructions are separated by commas (*čirla*, *čirla*; *duminel*, *duminel*). The usage of commas might have been introduced under the influence of conventions in Slovak where two consecutive identical grammatical constituents do not occur without a comma. The components of reduplicative constructions formed by the reduplication of the root are written as one word only rarely (*palpalutno*).

Word classes which undergo reduplication

In Slovak Romani reduplication is common especially with nouns, but it also occurs with adverbs, numerals, particles, interrogative adverbial pronouns and verbs. It is evident that the reduplication of the mentioned word classes must be subject to some restrictions which are, however, difficult to define in more detail given the low occurrence of reduplicatives in the examined texts. It can be said that as far as adverbs, numerals, particles and interrogative adverbial pronouns are concerned, the ability to form reduplicative constructions does not apply to all of them but is limited only to some. For example, as for numerals, we have found only the reduplications of the cardinal number *jekh* ‘one’ and the indefinite numerals *but* ‘much’ and *sikra* ‘little’. Also in other word classes, the

¹⁵ TR of entire words is formally reminiscent of a syntagm consisting of two segmentally identical words.

¹⁶ KOPTOVÁ, A., KOPTOVÁ, M. Slovensko-rómsky rómsko-slovenský slovník [Slovak-Romani Romani-Slovak Dictionary], 2011.

same reduplicative constructions recurred in the examined texts. This, however, does not mean that an analysis of other texts and texts by other authors could not reveal some more instances of reduplication. Reduplications are more varied and more common with nouns. Reduplication applies both to original and loan nouns (original: *muj mujeha* ‘face-to-face, closely’; loan: *svetos svetoske* ‘the wide world’) and concrete and abstract nouns (*gav gavestar* ‘from village to village’, *bokh bokhatar* ‘of great hunger/starvation’). However, exempt from reduplication are the abstract nouns derived by means of suffixes *-iben*, *-ipen*, *-išagos*.¹⁷ Proper nouns are not subject to reduplication either.

In terms of verbs, only finite forms of autosemantic verbs reduplicate. Auxiliary, modal and phrasal verbs are exempt from reduplication. With regard to verbs, it is not always easy to differentiate reduplication from repetition which may be used for stylistic purposes – in an effort to put emphasis on the described action. Recurrent identical verbs in Slovak Romani are written either with a comma between two components (*rodel, rodel* ‘he is searching, searching’), or with conjunctions *ta* (*perel ta perel* ‘it is falling continuously’, lit. ‘it falls and falls’), *sar* (*marel sar marel* ‘he is beating relentlessly’, lit. ‘he beats as beats’), or the structure *sar Verb ta Verb* can be used (*sar marel ta marel* ‘he is beating continuously’, lit. ‘as he beats so he beats’). Constructions with conjunctions can be quite unequivocally interpreted as reduplicative and they are meant to express an ongoing, continuous action with emphasis on its duration and the effort made. However, recurrent identical verbs can only convey emphasis, like in the following sentence where the author obviously did not intend to express the uninterrupted continuation of action.

- (1) *Dživel, dživel, aven spokojno*. He’s alive, he’s alive, be satisfied.

It is remarkable that adjectives reduplicate only rarely in Slovak Romani, unlike in many other languages (including Indian ones). In the examined dictionaries we have found an instance of the reduplication of the root morpheme of the adjective *palutno* ‘last’ – *palpalutno* ‘very last’ and in the examined texts loan translations from Slovak, such as *šukar prešukar* < ‘krásny prekrásny’, ‘extremely beautiful’.

¹⁷ An exception is an abstract noun which has adopted the plural ending *-a* and has passed into the category of concrete nouns, e.g.: *chabena pre chabende* ‘a lot of food, food to one’s heart content’.

II. Structural patterns and functions of reduplicative constructions

Stolz et al.¹⁸ have adopted a sign-based approach to reduplication. We agree with them that it is equally important to examine both the expression side and the content side of reduplicative constructions; therefore, we shall focus on the description of the formal structure of individual types and subtypes of reduplicative constructions and their meanings. As we have mentioned, in Slovak Romani reduplication applies to entire words, word roots and, rarely, also to modifying and derivational morphemes.

1. Reduplication of entire words

Reduplication of entire words can have two forms. Phonologically and semantically identical words either reduplicate without any additional elements, or entire words reduplicate by assuming additional elements. These additional elements can be particles, conjunctions, or prepositions which are inserted between the components of reduplicative constructions, or case endings attached to the reduplicants of reduplicative nouns. Reduplication without additional elements is viewed as pure total reduplication. Reduplication with additional elements can be, in line with Alirez Khanjan and Alinezhad Batool,¹⁹ referred to as superadded total reduplication.

1.1. Pure total reduplication

Pure total reduplication has been identified with the following word classes in the examined texts:

- a) adverbs:
maj ‘immediately’ – *maj maj* ‘promptly, at once’; *sig* ‘fast’ – *sig sig* ‘very fast’
- b) particles:
imar ‘already’ – *imar imar* ‘almost’; *má* ‘already’ – *má-má* ‘almost/nearly’; *avka* ‘so’ – *avka-avka* ‘so-so’ (hardly, barely)
na ‘no’ – *na-na* ‘definitely no’
- c) numerals:
jekh ‘one’ – *jekh jekh* ‘every one/other’

¹⁸ STOLZ, T. at al., op.cit., 2011.

¹⁹ KHANJAN, A., BATOOL, A. A Morphological Doubling Approach to Full Reduplication in Persian [online].

- d) interrogative adverbial pronouns:
kana ‘when’ – *kana kana* ‘sometimes, occasionally’; *kaj* ‘where’ – *kaj kaj* ‘wherever’; *ko* ‘who’ – *ko... ko* ‘someone’
- e) verbs:
džal ‘he walks’ – *džal, džal* ‘he keeps walking’ and others

Although all the above mentioned cases use a formally identical type of reduplication (unless the comma in subtype e) is considered an additional element), reduplicative constructions a) – e) have different functions. (For comparison we give pairs of examples; the sentence marked with the number and letter b is an example of a singleton.)

Reduplicative construction a) has an intensification function, which means that the result of the reduplication is the intensification of the non-reduplicated component:

(2a) *Maj maj džav ando foro.* I will go to town right now (at this moment).

(2b) *Maj džav ando foro.* I will go to town in no time.

Reduplicative construction b), on the other hand, expresses lesser intensity of a given action (attenuation):

(3a) *Imar-imar kamelas te denašel.* He was about to flee. (He was close to fleeing; he nearly fled.)

(3b) *Jov imar gejla.* He has already gone.

Reduplicative construction c) has a distributive function: every one. The numeral loses its quantitative function here and its reduplication conveys the idea that the situation concerns a group of identical members.

(4a) *Al'e the jekh jekh Roma chudne te denašel, sar dikhle le Gejzas.* But also other Roma took flight when they glimpsed Gejza.

(4b) *Jekh Rom chudňas te denašel.* One Rom took flight...

In reduplicative construction d) an interrogative adverbial pronoun changes into an indefinite pronoun.

(5a) *Kana kana tuke prebačinla* – He'll forgive you sometime.

(5b) *Kana aveha?* When are you coming?

Reduplicative construction e) conveys the uninterrupted continuation of action:

(6a) *Roden, roden až jekh vičinel...* They are searching unceasingly when one of them calls out...

(6b) *Sako peske rodel peskero than.* Everyone is looking for their own place.

The difference in the meanings/functions of pure TR depends on which word class reduplicates.

In pure total reduplication it is impossible to determine which of the components is fundamental, or whether it is a left-to-right or right-to-left reduplication, since the components are phonologically and semantically identical. A singleton as an independent language sign with its own form and meaning can function independently in language as examples (3)–(7) demonstrate.

1.2. Superadded total reduplication

This type of reduplication is the most common in Slovak Romani.

Superadded total reduplication can be applied to adverbs, numerals, interrogative adverbial pronouns, finite verb forms, nouns and adjectives. The role of additional elements can be assumed by a particle (*na, so*), conjunction (*a/u, ta, sar*), preposition (*pal, pre*), case ending (locative, dative), preposition and case ending at the same time and the prefix *pre-*.

1.2.1. Reduplicative construction with the intervening particle *na*

The particle *na* is inserted between the components of a reduplicative construction in interrogative adverbial pronouns. The result of the reduplication is the change of the interrogative adverbial pronoun into an indefinite pronoun:

kana ‘when’ – *kana na kana* ‘sometimes’; *kaj* ‘where’ – *kaj na kaj* ‘wherever, everywhere’

(7a) *Kaj na kaj phird'om, pal savore doktora u ňiko mange na pomožind'a.*
I've been everywhere, seen all doctors, but none of them has helped me. (Lit. Wherever I went, to all doctors and nobody has helped me.)

(7b) *Kaj tu phires sako d'ives.* Where you go every day.

Hübschmannová et al.'s dictionary gives reduplicative constructions *kana kana* and *kana na kana* as independent lexical units with a slightly different meaning: *kana kana* 'once'; 'sometine' (A.R. definitely one day): (*kana kana tuke prebačinla* – he'll forgive you one day) as opposed to *kana na kana* – sometimes, occasionally. As can be seen, according to Hübschmannová et al., unlike in Bengali or Hindi, in Slovak Romani a certain degree of definiteness is not assumed by the reduplicative construction with the particle *na*, but by pure TR. On the other hand, pure TR and superadded TR of the interrogative pronoun *kaj*, i.e. *kaj kaj* and *kaj na kaj*, are given as synonymous in the dictionary: *kaj (na) kaj džaha, džava tuha* – 'wherever you go, I'll go with you'. It seems that the active usage of the reduplicative construction with the additional element *na* has disappeared from today's Romani. No examples have been found in the examined texts and the construction did not sound familiar to the ear of a native speaker although he could give an example thereof.

1.2.2. Reduplicative constructions with intervening conjunctions

1.2.2.1. Conjunction *a*

- a) The copulative conjunction *a* 'and' can be inserted between the components of a reduplicative construction whose base is an adverb:

maj 'immediately' – *maj a maj* 'promptly, at once'

- (8) *E daj maj a maj thod'as čino kašta andro bov...* – Mother promptly put some wood into the oven...

It is evident that the semantics of the construction *maj a maj* (as well as of the following reduplicative constructions in which a conjunction is an additional element) is non-repetitive; it cannot be interpreted as 'immediately and immediately', that is as a simple repetition of identical content. The reduplicative construction acquires a new meaning and has an intensification function. The superadded TR *maj a maj* has the same meaning as the pure TR *maj maj*.

- b) The copulative conjunction *a* 'and' can be inserted between the components of a reduplicative construction also in the reduplication of an indefinite numeral:

but 'many/much' – *but a but* 'very many/much' (literally, 'many and many/much and much')

- (9a) *Džahas but a but berša, až avľam andre Indija.* We had been wandering for very many years before we reached India.
- (9b) *Ta soske mange diňa ajci but love.* Why did you give me so much money?

The reduplicative construction intensifies the meaning of the indefinite numeral *but* ‘much/many’. The same meaning was in the examined texts also conveyed by the reduplication of the indefinite numeral *but*, in which the components of the reduplicative construction were separated by a comma:

- (9c) *Ideos tut ela but, but,...* You’ll have plenty of time...

1.2.2.2. Conjunction *ta*

In the reduplication of two identical verb forms the copulative conjunction *ta* ‘and’ can be inserted between the components:

perel ‘it falls’ – *perel ta perel* ‘it’s falling continuously’ (literally, ‘it falls and falls’)

- (10a) *Jaj, ada brišind na preačhol, perel ta perel.* Oh my, the rain won’t stop, it’s falling and falling.

- (10b) *Chude les, te na perel pal kola garadiča.* Hold him so that he won’t fall off the stairs.

1.2.2.3. Conjunction *sar*

Two identical verb forms can also be joined with the conjunction *sar* ‘as’: *marel* ‘he beats’ – *marel sar marel* ‘he is beating relentlessly’, (literally, ‘beats as beats’)

- (11a) *O kočiša le gren maren sar maren, o čore graja naští le verdanenca čalaven.* – Coachmen are beating the horses relentlessly, but the horses aren’t able to move the wagon.

- (11b) *Marel o Del marel, kas kamel te marel.* God punishes him who he wants to beat.

1.2.2.4. Conjunctions *sar... ta...*

The superadded TR of finite verb forms can take the form of *sar Verb ta Verb*:

marel ‘he beats’ – *sar marel ta marel* ‘he has been beating continuously and for long’, (literally, ‘as he beats so he beats’)

- (12) *O Jepaš Manuš sar marel ta marel, až premard'as bari chev andro muros.* The Halfling had been hitting continuously until he made a big hole in the wall.

Reduplicative constructions composed of identical finite verb forms which are joined with conjunctions *ta*, *sar* and *sar...ta* do not refer to two distinct events, but as new units, they acquire a new meaning – they convey an ongoing, continuous action. Besides that, they suggest that the action requires a certain effort. In Slovak Romani there are no sequences of identical finite verb forms without these insertions or without a comma. It can be assumed that the constructions with the conjunction are loan translations from Slovak.

1.2.3. Reduplicative constructions with intervening prepositions

1.2.3.1. Preposition *pal*

In the reduplication of a noun in the nominative the components are joined with the preposition *pal* ‘after’:

a) *d'ives* ‘day’ – *d'ives pal d'ives* ‘day by day’ ‘every day’

- (13) *Ďives pal d'ives hin mange goredér.* I'm feeling worse every day. (Day by day I'm feeling worse.)

The reduplicative construction acquires the meaning ‘every X’ (X can be a noun with a temporal meaning). It also has the meaning of temporal sequence with emphasis on the uninterrupted continuation of this sequence. This meaning of the reduplicative construction is also facilitated by the intervening additional element, preposition *pal*.

1.2.3.2. Preposition *pre*

The reduplicative construction with the preposition *pre* ‘on, about, in’ in the role of an additional element has a distributive function:

- (14) *Cinaha le bale jepaš pro jepaš.* ‘We’ll buy the pig half in half.’ (That means each of us will give half of the money and get a half of the pig.)

Sometimes the reduplicative construction with this preposition is lexicalized: *d'ives pre d'ives* ‘for long’:

- (15) *Ďives pre d'ives mange namišto.* I haven’t been feeling well for long.

1.2.4. Reduplicative construction with the intervening particle *so*

In the reduplication of a noun with a temporal meaning in the nominative the components can be joined with the particle *so*:

berš ‘year’ – *berš so berš* ‘year after year’, i.e. ‘(also) every (following) year’.

- (16) *Berš so berš jevende avel te dikhel le dades.* Year after year (= every year) in winter he goes to see his father.

The reduplicative construction with the additional element *so* is a calque from Slovak where the particle *čo*, homonymous with the interrogative pronoun *čo* (*so* in Romani), is expressive of repetition in nouns with a temporal meaning.

Reduplicative constructions with the intervening prepositions *pal* and *pre* and with the particle *so* express temporal sequence (grammatical function of distributive).

As evident, superadded total reduplication in Slovak Romani challenges the need of contiguity in TR. The intervening elements *na*, *a*, *sar*, *ta*, however, confirm the assumption of Stolz et al. that “whenever anything intervenes between reduplicand and image, the gap created by the insertion is not larger than one morpheme”.²⁰

Slovak Romani also questions the idea that “[i]t seems that these interfixes are inserted mostly (perhaps only) in constructions whose components may also form a contiguous TR ... with practically the same meaning”.²¹ This claim applies only to some cases, such as: *kana na kana*; *kana kana*; *maj a maj*; *maj maj*; *perel ta perel*; *perel, perel....* However, if the additional elements are the particle *so* or a preposition, the claim does not apply (*berš so berš* is not equal to *berš berš*; *d'ives pal d'ives*, *d'ives pre d'ives* are not equal to *d'ives d'ives*).

²⁰ STOLZ, Thomas et al., op.cit., p. 49.

²¹ RABEL, Lili, 1961, p. 104. Qtd in STOLZ, Thomas et al., op.cit., p. 51.

1.2.5. Reduplicative constructions with the reduplicant extended by an inflection

A special subtype of superadded TR is the reduplication of nouns in which the entire domain is a reduplicand and the reduplicant is extended by the ending of the locative, dative or instrumental. It reduplicates from left to right.

1.2.5.1. Noun + Noun:LOK

šuk ‘beauty’ – *šuk šukate* ‘great beauty’ (literally, ‘beauty on beauty’)

The resulting reduplicative construction expresses a greater intensity, a greater quantity of a phenomenon described by the basic noun. There are other examples similar to *šuk šukate*: *džung* ‘dirt’ – *džung džungate* ‘disgusting dirt, filth’; *zor* ‘force’ – *zor zorate* ‘fiercely, by great force, forcibly’.

(17a) *O primaša chu(d)ňe pes zor zorate Kašate*. First violinists fiercely competed in Košice. (They competed who the best violinist is.)

(17b) *Akana hino zorate, ta chut'kerel*. He feels strong now, so he is daring.

Also the adverb *sig* ‘fast’ can reduplicate: *sig sigate* ‘very fast’:

(18a) *Denašelas pal mande ta sig sigate pes garud'om andro kher*. He ran after me (chasing me), so I hid in the house very fast.

(18b) *Av sig pal pale khore*. Come back home fast.

1.2.5.2. Noun + Noun:DAT

svetos ‘world’ – *svetos svetoske* ‘the wide world’,
but also ‘the ends of the earth’, ‘the whole world’

The reduplicative construction in which the reduplicant is extended by a dative inflection has an intensification function.

(19a) *Svetos svetoske džalas ži ande Amerika*. He has travelled the whole world over; he has even been to America.

(19b) *Palal calo svetos*. He has travelled the whole world over.

Similar reduplication also applies to the numeral *jekh* extended by the particle *aňi* borrowed from Slovak which emphasizes the attached phrase in negation:

aňi jekh jekheske – not one, no one at all

- (20a) *Aňi jekh jekheske našťi džal ke leste.* Not one (no one at all) is his equal.

- (20b) *Aňi jekh kozaris na arakhľom.* I haven't found a single mushroom.

Sometimes the reduplicative construction formed this way is lexicalized, for example, *chol'i* ‘anger, spite’ – *chol'i chol'ake* ‘on purpose, out of spite’:

- (21) *Oda manuš manca kerel chol'a chol'ake.* The man keeps spiting me.

1.2.5.3. Noun + Noun:INS

kher ‘house’ – *kher khreha* ‘house next to house, houses in close proximity to each other’ (literally, house with house)

The reduplicative construction of this subtype expresses close proximity.

- (22) *Varekana o Roma ačhavenas kher khreha.* In the past the Roma used to build houses in close proximity (terraced houses).

The reduplicative construction of this subtype also has an intensification function:

drom ‘journey’ – *drom dromeha* ‘long journey’

- (23a) *Drom dromeha phird'om te arakhav peske buti.* I've travelled far to find a job.

- (23b) *Sako peske džal peskere dromeha.* Every one walks their way.

Sometimes the reduplicative construction is lexicalized (figurative expression):

muj ‘face’ – *muj mujeha* (literally: face with face) ‘face to face, in person’

- (24a) *Dikh'lam amen muj mujeha*. We met in person. (literally: We met face with face.)
- (24b) *Phirel andre but'i te šuvle mujeha*. He also comes to work with a swollen mouth.

1.2.6. Reduplicative construction with the intervening preposition and a reduplicant extended by a locative ending

In superadded TR where the reduplicant is extended by the inflection LOK, the components are often joined by another element, preposition.²²

1.2.6.1. Noun + pre + Noun: LOK

berš ‘year’ *berš pre beršeste* ‘every year, many years’

- (25) *Berš pre beršeste jevende phirel ke amende*. He's been coming to see us every winter for many years.
- (26) *Ďives pre d'iveste phirelas te labarel o angara a mind'ar len bikenavlas*. Every day he went to make charcoal and he sold it immediately.

This reduplicative construction has a distributive function ‘every X’ and at the same time expresses repetition, regularity and plurality ‘many X’.

A similar example is *papi pre papende* ‘from generation to generation, every generation’, which is lexicalized as “from time immemorial, from time out of mind”.

- (27) *Bešas adaj papi pre papende*. We've lived here from time immemorial.

The same subtype of reduplicative construction can express a great quantity of what its base is constituted by:

mas ‘meat’ – *mas pre maseste* ‘a lot of meat’

- (28) *Andre guľašis čhid'om mas pre maseste*. I put a lot of meat in the goulash. (literally, I put meat on meat in the goulash.)

²² Hübschmannová speaks of nominative-locative phrases here, see *Romsko-český a česko- romský kapesní slovník* [Romani-Czech and Czech-Romani Pocket Dictionary], 1991, p. 216.

This subtype of reduplicative construction is not rare (for example, *zijand pre zижандесте* ‘great pity’, *dženo pre dženeste* ‘a lot of people’, also the figurative *šero pre šereste* ‘[the place was] jam-packed’) and can also be applied to plural nouns: pl. *berša pre beršende* ‘many years’, *chabena pre chabenende* ‘food to one’s heart content’.²³

- (29) *Soske te tavas, hin amen chabena pre chabenende.* Why should we cook when there’s plenty of food (that is, so much food that we can’t possibly eat it)?
- (30) *Jov imar berša pre beršende bešel pro Čechi.* He’s been living in the Czech Republic for years.
- (31) *Andre oda cikno kheroro hin dženo pre dženeste/ šero pre šereste.* The little house is jam-packed. The little house is inhabited by a lot of people.

Not only nouns, but also adverbs reduplicate this way:

čirla ‘earlier, in the past, long ago’ – *čirla pre čirlaste* ‘since ages ago, from way back’

- (32a) *Jov imar čirla pre čirleste ada kerel.* He’s been doing this since long ago.
- (32b) *Imar čirla phend’om tuke, te cines peske kher.* I told you long ago that you should buy a house.

1.2.6.2. Noun + *pal* + Noun: LOK

d'ives ‘day’ – *d'ives pal d'iveste* ‘day by day, every day, daily’

The reduplicative construction with the preposition *pal* as the additional element in which the reduplicant is extended by the locative inflection has a distributive function; it expresses distribution in time – ‘every X’:

- (33) *Dives pal d'iveste mandar phirel te mangel vareso.* He comes to ask me for things every day.

²³ The fact that the components of reduplicative constructions can be plural nouns proves that they are not a simple expression of the grammatical category of plural.

1.2.6.3. Noun + *paš* + Noun:LOK

than ‘place’ – *than paš thaneste* ‘place by place, every place’

- (34) *Rodava les than paš thaneste...* I'll be looking for him place by place.
(gradually in all places)

The reduplicative construction has a distributive function with the connotation of totality – each and every single place. Only countable nouns reduplicate in the distributive function.

1.2.7. Reduplicative construction with the reduplicant extended by the prefix *pre-*

šukar ‘beautiful’ – *šukar prešukar* ‘very beautiful’

This subtype of reduplicative construction is a loan translation of a Slovak construction with the intensifying gradational prefix *pre-*, which, when combined with an adjective, expresses a high degree of intensity of a quality (*prekrásny* ‘very beautiful’).²⁴ The reduplicative construction acquires the meaning of an even higher degree of intensity of a quality expressed by an adjective with the prefix *pre-* (*krásny prekrásny* ‘extremely beautiful’).

- (35a) *O gada pre Monika sas šukar prešukar.* Monika was wearing an extremely beautiful dress.
- (35b) *La Monikakero bijav sas prešukar.* Monika's wedding was very beautiful.

2. Reduplication of word roots

The reduplication of word roots is the most common with nouns. The reduplication takes place from right to left and the base of the reduplication, the reduplicand, is the root of the domain (e.g. the domain *bokh-atar* ‘of hunger’ reduplicates as *bokh bokhatar* ‘of great hunger/starvation’). The grammatical

²⁴ Ada BÖHMEROVÁ considers such a construction in Slovak an instance of “superadded compound word-formative total reduplication” where “the reduplicative expresses intensification of the feature” (see BÖHMEROVÁ, A. Word-Formative Potential of Total Reduplication: A Cross-Linguistic View with Focus on English and Slovak, p. 221).

form of the domain which contains the grammatical morpheme (the suffix of the ablative, locative or instrumental) determines the syntactic function of the reduplicative construction in the sentence where it functions as an adverbial (of cause, place, time or manner). There are following types and subtypes:

2.1. Noun root + Noun:ABL

2.1.1. *bokh bokhatar* ‘of great hunger/starvation’ < *bokhatar* ‘of hunger’

The reduplicative construction with an abstract noun functions as an adverbial of cause and has an intensification function. It expresses a higher degree of intensity of a phenomenon described by the basic word.

(36a) *Roma bokh bokhatar merenas*. The Roma were dying of starvation.

(36b) *Roma bokhatar merenas*. The Roma were dying of hunger.

2.1.2. *gav gavestar* ‘from village to village’ < *gavestar* ‘from village’

A formally identical reduplicative construction with a countable noun has a distributive meaning. It can express local or temporal distribution; at the same time it expresses multitude and a continuous sequence of the reduplicated element – ‘from each X to each other X’.

(37) *Phirelas gav gavestar ta kerelas le manušenge chartikano buťi*. He went around villages (from one village to another) doing smithery work for people.

(38) *Chuťkerel than thanestar, hed'os hed'ostar, sera seratar, až dochuťlas dži kijo baro paňi, kijo moros*. He is jumping from place to place, from mountain to mountain, from side to side until he reached a big water, the sea.

2.1.3. *berš beršestar* ‘every year, year by year, from year to year’ < *beršestar* ‘from year’

(39) *Berš beršestar sas šukareder*. She was more beautiful every year.

Sporadically this gives rise to a reduplicative construction with a distributive function whose base is an indefinite cardinal number designating a small amount *sikra*.

2.1.4. *sikra* ‘a bit’ – *sikra sikratar* ‘gradually, bit by bit’

- (40) *Čak sikra sikratar kampel te čhivel andre zumin.* It must be added to the soup just bit by bit.

2.2. Noun root + Noun:LOK

bokh bokhate ‘starving’ < *bokhate* ‘deprived of food, hungry’

- (41a) *Bokh bokhate dživahas.* We lived with constant starving.

- (41b) *Bokhate dživahas.* We lived in hunger.

The reduplicative construction has an intensification function.

2.3. Noun root + Noun:INS

bokh bokhaha ‘very hungry, with great hunger’ < *bokhaha* ‘hungry’

- (42a) *Phirahas te sovel bokh bokhaha.* We went to bed very hungry.

- (42b) *Phirahas te sovel bokhaha.* We went to bed hungry.

The reduplicative construction has an intensification function.

It is obvious that all three reduplicative constructions, that is *bokh bokhatar*, *bokh bokhate* and *bokh bokhaha*, express intensity, a greater extent of the phenomenon described by the basic word (domain) than a simple constituent. The basic lexical meaning of the reduplicative construction is derived from the lexical meaning of the reduplicand and the syntactic function of such a construction in the sentence is derived from the syntactic function of the domain (e.g. *bokh bokhatar* functions as an adverbial of cause in the sentence, just like a simple *bokhatar*).

The differences between the subtypes of the reduplicative construction are, however, only subtle. This is attested to by examples from Hübschmannová et al.’s dictionary in which both *merel (bokh) bokhate* and *merel bokh bokhatar* are translated as ‘die of hunger’.

2.4. The subtype of reduplication of a word root is the reduplication of the adverb *pale* ‘again’ and the adjective *palutno* ‘last’.

Unlike the preceding reduplications of a word root, this subtype is a left-to-right reduplication. In the case of the reduplicative *palpale*, orthography is not fixed; it is more often written with a blank (*pal pale*) between its constituents than as one word. The constituents of the reduplicative construction *palpalutno* are written as one word.

pampale ‘repeatedly, again and again’ <*pale* ‘again’

- (43a) *Pal pale tuke rakinena pre god'i kaj mušines savoro chaben...* ...they will remind you again and again that you must eat everything...

- (43b) *Pale oda kerďa*. He's done it again.

palpalutno ‘very last’ <*palutno* ‘last’

- (44a) *Dža, le koda palpalutno kaš*. Go and bring the very last piece of wood too.

- (44b) *Andro palutno kher bešel o Fero*. Fero lives in the last house.

The reduplication of an adverb expresses multiple repetition; the reduplication of an adjective expresses distributiveness: ‘each and also the very last X’.

3. Reduplication of the modifying and derivational morpheme

Besides the above mentioned types of reduplication of entire words and word roots in Romani, there is also a reduplication of the terminal modifying morpheme *-or* and the modifying morpheme *-ic-* within the stem, which form diminutives, and the morpheme *-ker-* within the stem, which forms frequentatives. A similar reduplication also applies to the terminal derivational morpheme *-al*, which forms adverbs.

3.1. Reduplication of the diminutive modifying morpheme *-or-*

cikno ‘small’ – *cikno-ro* ‘very small’ – *cikno-ro + ro* ‘very very small’

3.2. Reduplication of the diminutive modifying morpheme -ic-:

sikr-a ‘a little’ – *sikr-ic-a* ‘a little bit’ – *sikr-ic-* + *-ic-* + *a* ‘a very little bit’

The reduplication of the modifying morpheme *-ic-* can be multiple: *sikr-ic-* + *-ic-* + *-ic-* + *a* ‘a very very little bit’.

The reduplicative constructions express a higher degree of diminution.

3.3. Reduplication of the modifying morpheme -ker- expressing frequency:

sivel ‘sew’: *siv-ker-el* ‘sew regularly’, *siv* – *ker-* + *-ker-* + *el* ‘sew frequently’.

beš-ker-ker-el – ‘sit around’

3.4. Reduplication of the derivational morpheme -al

The derivational morpheme *-al* forms adverbs from prepositions of direction, for example: *pal* ‘behind’ > adverb *palal* ‘at the back’. The reduplication of the derivational morpheme *-al* results in the reduplicative *palalal*, which means ‘at the very back’.

Similarly, *angle* ‘in front of’ > *anglal* ‘in the front’ – *anglalal* ‘in the very front’; *opre* ‘up’ > *opral* ‘from above, from top’ – *opralal* ‘from the very top’; *tel* ‘under’, *tele* ‘down’ > *telal* ‘at the bottom, from the bottom’ – *telalal* ‘at the very bottom/from the very bottom’.

III. Conclusion

The analysis of the examined texts reveals that reduplicative constructions are not very common in Slovak Romani. Language also has other means to express the grammatical meaning typically conveyed by reduplicative constructions. For example, a higher degree of intensity of a phenomenon can be expressed syntactically, by means of the adjective *baro* ‘big’ in the function of an adverb (‘very’), which preserves the grammatical categories of an adjective: *bari bokhatar* instead of *bokh bokhatar* ‘of great hunger’.

This type of intensification can also be used with adjectives, which reduplicate, as we have seen, only exceptionally: *lačhi čhaj* ‘good girl’ – *bari lačhi čhaj* ‘very good girl’. Similarly, a greater degree or extent of a quality designated by an adjective can be expressed by means of the adverb *igen* ‘very’

borrowed from Hungarian: *igen phuro* ‘very old’, or the adverb *but* ‘very’: *but zoralo* ‘very strong’. With the adjective *baro* ‘big’ a greater degree or extent of a quality designated by an adjective is conveyed by means of the adverb *igen*: *igen baro* ‘very big’.

- (43) *O Jepaš Manuš dural dikhel, hoj kija leste avel baro, igen baro mačho.* The Halfling can see from afar a big, very big fish approaching him.

An even greater degree or extent of a quality designated by an adjective can be expressed by means of the adverb *bare* or *igen* and the diminutive of a given noun *bare phuroro*, *igen phuroro* ‘very old’, or by means of the simultaneous use of the adverbs *bare* and *igen* and the diminutive of a given noun: *igen bare phuroro* ‘very very old’.²⁵

Adjectives derived from verbs express a greater intensity of a quality designated by an adjective by a frequentative form (*domardo* ‘tired’ – *domarkerdo* ‘very tired, exhausted’).

Also the meaning of temporal distributiveness can be conveyed syntactically by means of the adjective *sako* ‘every’: *sako berš* instead of *berš beršestar* ‘every year’.

Reduplicatives are more common in narratives and tales where they enliven and add interest to the text. Partial reduplication is rare, but the types and subtypes of total reduplication are quite varied. They are characterized especially by the intensification and distributive function. Verbal reduplicatives express an ongoing, continuous action which often requires some effort. Reduplicatives can also express multiplication, attenuation and indefiniteness. In some cases they convey a figurative meaning (e.g. *šero pre šereste* ‘[the place is] jam-packed’, *muj mujeha* ‘face-to-face’). Sometimes reduplication is used derivationally to alter word class. The most common is the adverbialization of a noun (e.g. *zor* ‘force’ – manner adverbial *zor zorate* ‘by great force, forcibly’; *d'ives* ‘day’ – time adverbial *d'ives pal d'iveste* ‘daily’; *bokh* ‘hunger’ – cause adverbial *bokh bokhate* ‘of great hunger’; *gav* ‘village’ – place adverbial *gav gavestar* ‘from village to village’ etc.). In the majority of such cases there is a predictable semantic link between the singleton and the reduplicative construction. If the meaning of a reduplicative construction cannot be derived from the meaning of the singleton, it is an example of lexicalization (e.g. *chol'i* ‘anger’, ‘spite’ – adverbial *chol'i chol'ake* ‘out of spite’).

²⁵ This might be viewed as an instance of semantic reduplication of the adverb *bare* ‘very’, which reduplicates by means of the synonymous *igen*; the reduplicative construction then has the meaning ‘really’.

It can be further stated that the function of a reduplicative construction often cannot be determined only on the basis of the type or subtype of the structural pattern of reduplication. Also a formally identical subtype of a reduplicative construction, for example, Noun + Noun:INS, can have different functions: *svetos svetoha* ‘the wide world’ (intensity), *kher khoreha* ‘house next to house’ (close proximity).

On the other hand, in order to express one (identical) meaning, several types/subtypes of reduplicative constructions can sometimes be used. The same meaning can be conveyed by pure TR and superadded TR with the infix *na*, *a*, *ta*: *kana kana – kana na kana*; *maj maj – maj a maj*; *perel, perel – perel ta perel*.

Temporal distribution can be expressed by means of superadded total reduplication of entire words with different additional elements, as well as by means of the reduplication of word roots: *berš pal berš* ‘every (following) year’, *berš so berš* ‘year after year’, i.e. ‘(also) every (following) year’, *berš pre beršeste* ‘year after year, every year’, *d'ives pal d'iveste* ‘day after day, every day’; *berš beršestar* ‘from year to year, every year’.

A higher degree of intensity of a given phenomenon can be expressed by a reduplicative construction which has been formed by the reduplication of a root (right-to-left) and by a reduplicative construction which was formed by a left-to-right reduplication of an entire word: *bokh bokhate* ‘of great hunger’ – *šuk šukate* ‘great beauty’.

What applies to every word applies to reduplicative constructions too: “Since a surface word carries a bundle of information related to its phonology, morphology, morphophonemics, morphosyntax, lexicology, semantics, syntax, text, grammar, ethymology, etc.²⁶ it is not always possible to capture all information just by looking at its structure or orthography. We require world knowledge along with contextual information, and native language skill to understand the form and function of words as well as to decipher all their metaphoric, pragmatic, and discourse senses (both explicit and implicit) inherent in the contexts of their occurrence.”²⁷

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²⁶ PINKER, 1995, p. 344, qtd. in DASH, N. Corpus-based Analysis of the Bengali Language, 2000.

²⁷ DASH, N. Corpus-based Analysis of the Bengali Language, 2000, p. 197.

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